

188 cont. / *They are as good and as bad*

77/ Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
17/ center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
[542] of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
[172] surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

782 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
-539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa
Holy Divinity

pičnača
come

čal'tama.
let us offer up libation.

Tiča ti koka
Here is this coca

samtña
Holy One

tača.
I will give.

K'iskina
Potato

koka
coca

taki.
I give.

Xuala (p)
Llama

tača
I will give

Samtña
Holy

Mal'ku.
Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

Carangas-
Chipaya

/121 cont./

[62] not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
[616] not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
[614] compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large
number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accept-
ing this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually
includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern
clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The
inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities
of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
[368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant
detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their
huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates
its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the
neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals
which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing
here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other
saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

[342] Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
[343] prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their
immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The de-
tailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter.
Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well
as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are
made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-
shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are
[361] grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
[363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corre-
sponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row
of houses faces a different street.

[351] The huts belonging to a single household or to the same
family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used
as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts
so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
[171] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is
[mg] placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

Carangas -
Chipaya

/326 cont. /

[177] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism.
 [177] But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or
 [177] demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Some-
 [176] times even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies
 which have nothing Christian about them.

796 There would be little required for certain festivals, such as
 [177] those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation
 of the most scrupulous ecclesiastic on the subject of rites. The pro-
 cession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody
 of those they make under the direction of their curé.

[194] In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles
 in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed
 hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the
 upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must
 in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint
 and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

[506] To this Catholic influence another of a secular character
 must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of
 the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent
 of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good
 time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain
 sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Chipaya courtesy. The
 796 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez,
 554 "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard
 [177] (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in
 several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

[177] Short of admitting that formerly the Chipaya were in close
 contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps
 not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign
 influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study
 [192] of the Chipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to
 indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Chipaya language and

Carangas-
Chipaya

/327 cont./

[171] consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives
[174] of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the
seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography,
nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an
Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara
and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer
and more complete form among the latter.

[776]
[778] Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities
which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San
Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the
Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly
individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku,
Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the
Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower
(Turi-mal'ku).

[778]
[825] The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and
by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly
household worship.

[782] /328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the
description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same
level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices.
They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been
the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply
added as supernumeraries to the list of demons and protecting spirits
of the Čipaya.

[777] The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the
principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly
confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the
Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin.
They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that
of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika).

[783] Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-
mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I
did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

Carangas-
Chipaya

/328 cont./

- 776 addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

[782] It is for the Pača-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

- * 778 The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's
776 dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of

[792]

[113]

1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico).

Vocabulario de la lengua aymará

/Vocabulary of The Aymara

Language/ (Reissued by J. Platzmann).

Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

- vassals/, " has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Chipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Chipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Chipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the sod and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

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Carangas-
Chipaya

/329 cont./

*1778 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the
 1782 Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed
 an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries,
 where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes
 every Chipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance
 from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration
 of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant
 which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

*1778 In the mind of the Chipaya these cones of earth are "statues"
 representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were
 designated to me when I heard about them for the first time.
 "These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres
 [552] busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a
 name (Čunkirini, Korisančuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint,
Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority
 of these names are Chipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of
 [199] the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the
 [196]

1. I am tempted to see in the
Kilimint (o) mal'ku a demon
 whose Spanish name, Clemento,
 has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes
 of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied
 to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white
 men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat
 on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

[616] Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e.,
 [621] makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the
 [198] Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which
 is worshiped by the whole tribe.

*1778 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous
 1774 waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

Carangas -
Chipaya
Inca SE13

u /329 cont. /

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destroying in the villages of the ancient Peruvian empire. The word waka is moreover the equivalent of mal'ku and is also difficult to translate exactly. This difficulty arises from the fact that the demons of the popular Peruvian religion and of modern Čipaya folklore are not very individualized and hard to disengage from the sacred object itself. I am even led to believe that the Indians had only a very vague idea of a spiritual being who was the counterpart of their waka. I will not go so far, however, as to say that the notion of spirit was foreign to the representation which the natives made for themselves out of stones or trees, which they worshiped under the name of waka. /330/ Everything seems to indicate that these sacred objects were considered in themselves as provided with a certain individuality and life. It cannot be otherwise, for wives and children (1) are often attributed to them. This is pre-

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1. Santillán (Licenciado Fernando de). "Relación del Origen, Descendencia Política, y Gobierno de los Incas /Account of the Origin, Political Development, and Government of the Incas/," in Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades peruanas /Three Accounts of Ancient Times in Peru/, published by M. Jiménez de la Espada. Madrid, 1879, p. 33: "Some (huacas) are worshiped as men and others as women and they express their devotion to each one by a kind of necessity." /Cited in Spanish. / Arriaga (F. Pablo Joseph de), Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru. (Reprint, facsimile of the original edition of 1621). Buenos Aires, 1910, p. 12: "others have diverse figures of men or women, and some of these

Carangas -
 Chipaya
 Inca SE13

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 /330 cont./

huacas are said to be children or wives of other huacas." /Cited in Spanish. / Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Accounts of the Indians/. Vol. I. p. 75: "and it was so much the practice of these people that there was no idol to whom they did not give a wife and children." /Cited in Spanish. /

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 cisely the case with the Čipaya mal'ku. In prayers their name is often repeated two times, the first time followed by the word mal'ku and the second time by the epithet tal'a. The latter was explained to me by the Čipaya themselves as designating the wife of the mal'ku. This assertion is accurate because we find in Bertonio's dictionary (2) the word "Ttalla Ccaphromi: wife of the

2. Bertonio. Vocabulario de la lengua aymará, p. 347.

chief man of the town, and the lower relatives of the maycos." /Cited in Spanish. / If the word mal'ku, "chief," finally took on the meaning of "demon," "spirit," it is natural that the word tal'a, "wife of the chief," "noblewoman," should have acquired the sense of "female demon." The mal'ku who are symbolized by these monuments or who are these very monuments personified are hence conceived of as forming a couple. The word pokara, which often follows the word mal'ku in Čipaya prayers, is, it appears, a synonym of mal'ku. The meaning and origin of this term are unknown to me; I am inclined to believe that it is not Aymara but Uro. In this case it would have the meaning "demon," "spirit." Hence the Čipaya church tower is called hača pokara, "great mal'ku."

Carangas-
Chipaya

/338 cont. /

*778 [776] [775] [782] The mountains (1). In their prayers the Čipaya invoke the

1. On the worship of mountains in the ancient Peruvian empire, consult Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 328-342.

[133] mountains on their horizon in general and certain summits, such as the Sajama, in particular. The latter is the most sacred of all, for from it comes the Lauca River which fertilizes the wretched Chipaya plain. The Indians relate that there lived in Sajama a spirit (male or female) who made the contents of a pot boil so that steam was seen escaping. Sajama is now an extinct volcano.

[182] The Lauca River. Like the mountains the Lauca River is a divinity who demands offerings and blood sacrifices. As the Pača-mama has been associated with the Virgin, so the Lauca River has been confused with Maria, who for the Čipaya, it seems, is a personage distinct from the Virgin; this is why the Lauca River is called Santa María Lauca. Its name is followed in a prayer with the double epithet of mal'ku and tal'a. These qualificatives would oblige us to assume that this river is symbolized by a pair of demons or considered in itself as being both male and female. I have not been able to obtain any clarification on this point, all the less so as the Čipaya have very rudimentary if any knowledge of mythology. These contradictory attributes given to the Lauca River perhaps are only an empty form without importance.

[796] [782] The Čipaya assured me that they hold a festival each year for the Lauca River. On this occasion one specimen of the three kinds of animals who live in Chipaya is sacrificed to it.

*778 The sacred sticks. These are not lacking in any Čipaya hut, where they are set against the wall facing the door. The Indians worship them /339/ at home, as they told me, and I actually saw them placing censers at the foot. These sticks, one of which is reproduced here (Pl. XVI, D /see p. 137 /), are made of palm-tree

Carangas-
Chipaya

/339 cont./

*178 wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para, [171] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed. Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the samiris' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of *178 them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a 346 mixed character, i. e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images [182] made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other [176] Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

Carangas-
Chipaya

/346 cont./

- *796 signal all kneeled again in a row facing east and again recited a brief prayer. They began the same rites before each oratory up to the last chapel situated at the limits of *Chipaya* territory. Having arrived before this low, narrow hut, men and women entered in turn and prostrated themselves before the altar on which the
- [796] Officiant had placed the effigy of Saint James, the cross, and the sticks which the worshipers had given him. Some paid homage to the saint with their bags of coca, which they placed at his feet or hung in his niche. Others lit small lamps, if this name can be given to dishes containing tallow and a wick, around him and, kneeling before the saint, held censers toward him or burned grains of copal (1). These signs of reverence were accompanied by

1. The Indians give the name copal (*kupala*) to a resin which while burning gives off a fragrant smoke. This substance comes from eastern Bolivia.

prayers in Aymara.

- [796]
[793] A small enclosure continues the chapel to the east. It contains a cross of straw which stands on a crude pedestal of earth and some slabs /347/ serving as tables on which the participants place coca and alcohol which they offer each other. While each family was taking its place at the spot which pleased it and set out coca, a bottle of alcohol, and the drinking cups that play an essential part in the festival on a small cloth, the Officiant and his helper stretched a small tablecloth in front of the cross, on which they placed 36 mugs and two extra ones outside the rug. They poured a little *chicha* in each of them, and in each one in succession, following a set pattern (a mug on the left, then a mug on the right, and going from bottom to top), dipped three stones, silicious in appearance, two white and one grey. These stones were then placed between the mugs of the lower row at regular intervals. The Officiant moistened small, round, green stones from old,

Carangas -
Chipaya

/351 cont. /

*996 [59] "Master of the sky, grant good weather to thy sons this year. Give us sheep, young llamas, piglets and lambs, (increase) the births of our livestock."

Frequently, a single Indian, or still more often a couple, would leave the enclosure and go kneel down a certain distance from the chapel facing east. They would each carry a censor or light a handful of khoa beside themselves. They would remain there about ten minutes, meditatively murmuring invocations to the mal'ku, and then would offer up a libation to them followed by several pinches of coca.

Others would go in the chapel to kneel before Santiago and pray to him. The Officiant beat the drum for several minutes at short intervals, probably with the intention of chasing away the evil spirits who were prowling around thereabouts.

Toward the end of the afternoon two old men, turning toward the north, offered up a libation and an offering of coca to Cerro Sajama, "father of the Lauca River which makes us live," and to the Lauca River itself. Both were given the title of mal'ku (Saxama-mal'ku, Mal'ku-xuna-Saxama, L'auka mal'ku).

[673] As the hours passed spirits revived under the influence of the alcohol which provoked a recrudescence of piety. Libations were offered more frequently, prayers were repeated after shorter and shorter intervals, and xal'al'a burst out at the slightest opportunity.

● [776] They invited each other to offer alcohol to the foster-parent divinities:

[59] Taki	čulma	č'al'tama	uyuwirinaka	taki.
All	we	offer up libations	foster parents the	for

/352/ And they expressed the wish to gather together again the next year at the same place to drink and offer up libations: Mara kičur(u) hama ("That next year [we offer libations] likewise").

Carangas-
Chiyaya

527 /380 cont. / They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and
 528 exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations
 529 to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

[778] The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

527 The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirimi-
 528 mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of
 529 this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku, čawk mal'ku, Santa Ana, mal'ku tuanta,
 Tower-demon, great demon, Saint Anne, demon east,

taxatistan, maitifi, roktiifi hasiki
 west of he who obtains, who prays, in this moment,

suma, waino, tiempo čmaitiřimal'a, wale, wale,
 good young weather hearken to me, good, good,

suma wata čmaitiřiřa tapa serwintifi.
 good year grant us all servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

527 The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol.

[782] Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demon and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

Carangas -
Chipaya

/381 cont./

[32] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

[34] House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [38] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him enter. The latter sit down [382] in a circle and receive alcohol [383] from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming [384] work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-pasa) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[385] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

Protecting demons of the huts.

[386] Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

582

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(R. A. R. B. 148)

601 the Aymara, the Uru distinguish siblings terminologically according to age. Like

585 Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the Uru were formerly endogenous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take Aymara wives.

602 If the Uru ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native *hikakata*, or *alcalde*, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with Aymara neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

771 The Uru worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the Aymara, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the Aymara. Bertoni (1879 b), however, lists several ancient Uru dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the *buchhu* or *sisa quirkitha*, and the *chiy-chiy*, in which bags are held in the hand.

796 The main Uru fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow *parpipes* (*siku*), sing and dance the *minule*, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (*wilancha*) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the Uru beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the Aymara.

538 Most Uru-Chipeya folklore is similarly of the common Aymara stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

184 The Chipaya of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the Uru of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the Uru are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the Chipaya are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 The Chipaya, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the Chipaya do

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the chipiase tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The Chipaya eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1830 there were some 350 Chipaya in Carangua, which was physically divided into noncontiguous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasions and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The Chipaya kinship system, like that of the Uru, is much influenced by the Aymara. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All Chipaya, without exception, are bilingual and speak Aymara fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak Uru only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely Aymarized.

RELIGION

The religion of the Chipaya does not differ from that of the Aymara of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the Chipaya than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main Chipaya deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*mallku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-mallku, Kamperani-mallku, Estewan-mallku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Terre-mallku). The samiri are sacred stone fetiches on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-mallku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important Chipaya deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *mallkus* and saints, but is associated with every Chipaya ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

paper. Llama fetuses are burned in her house, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The *malku*, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed stones of and 2 to 4 ft (1 to 1.20 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own *malku* which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety *samiti* are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant.

The cult of the *malku* and that of the *samiti* follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an *allivra* and his wife, who are the owners of the animals on which the Chigaya depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a *yach'i*—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flour made of various kinds of maize and sent to the four directions. What is left is poured on the *cecos* or *samiti* stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupules and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulas are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (*chicks*, "levitation," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupule is poured separately with prayers to the *Saiki*, the *malku*, and *Pachamama*. *Cross* balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for *Pachamama*. *Klwa*, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial dings, eggs, wreaths made of dried fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the *allivra* and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the cost of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

cañes; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Madre Mayor*. The other *malinas* are represented by small central and towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *amais* protect the prosperity of the village; in the houses, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; chickens and other birds—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chiquyas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating priest, or *curate*, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *malina* cross and the *amais* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispels for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.²⁹ The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Tuintatito* (= Aymara *Tunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjetsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-malku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *malku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-tiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-malku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,³⁰ however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

²⁹ The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

³⁰ Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."